

428 A typical instance of male succession is that of Kašada and his three nephews. Apart from other holdings Kašada's father owned a large tract (from Camps 55 to 57 and beyond, see map, Fig. 80) which Kašada and his elder brother inherited. The three sons of the latter fell heir to his share. In the flood of 1911 the creek assumed a new course, dividing this tract neatly in two; whereupon Kašada took the section west of the creek for his own and gave up using any part of the eastern portion. His nephews kept the eastern tract undivided, even after the death of the middle member of the trio. All three lived together on this tract (Camp 57) until the youngest, Tobey, established his home on land inherited from his maternal grandmother's brother (Camp 55). A small part of the tract south of Camp 55 lay abandoned for years. Kašada's intention of reclaiming it was well known at the time of my first visit, but considered vague; in 1910, he cleared it.

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Bob's land was inherited by his widow and her adult son by a former husband. Bob had no male relatives; his older sister, who is well provided for, and another sister's grandson, who often lived with him, received nothing. The heirs have not divided the land.

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Nina planted a cornfield independent of her husband. The field belonged to her father's younger brother, Panamida, who let her use it for the support of her two small sons. After her death, Panamida took it back, planting there the next season contrary to custom, but with the approval of the community. Panamida gives some of the corn to Nina's sons.

An uncultivated field, now used only as the dance ground, is claimed by Smiley and Panamida. Smiley, who owned the land, gave it to his daughter for the use of her children; she having married Panamida. She and all her children, save one, are now dead. Panamida claims the field as his, but Smiley says that now the children are dead the field is his again.

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Land is also exchanged and sold. Binyella exchanged a strip of corn land near Rock Jones's house with the latter for a piece below Navaho Falls on which he then planted fig trees. When Jess married he bought a piece of uncleared land for a house site and pasture from Manakadja (an acre and a half for thirty-five dollars). In a measure, this is land given for support of a woman relative—although the price is fair enough—since Jess's wife formerly lived with Manakadja, her mother's father and her nearest male relative save one.

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The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Binyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owned. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

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Natural products also belong to the land-owner. Trees and brush may not be cut without his consent. Austin owns a cornfield, inherited from his paternal grandfather, west of the old creek bed. In the flood of

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as critical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 31). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of \$10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under \$300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe: agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), \$65; postmaster, \$70; mail carrier, \$300; government packer, average of

4: Smithsonian E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

464 \$50 to \$70 for most of the year; school laborer, \$35 to \$50, and school house-
keeper and cook, \$210.

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In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from \$60 to \$150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of \$4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about \$2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately \$750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about \$300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average \$2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of \$800 to \$1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been \$2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consumption.
434 The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

434 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
511 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may become permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
166 relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe
[574] remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If
[425] their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in